224 One of the traits the Amhara shares with the older culture pattern mentioned above is contempt for those who live by hunting; though he is proud to show his prowess against major wild fauna such as the elephant, lion, leopard, rhinoceros ("awraris"), and, of course, human enemies. There is no pride in hunting gazelle and other food animals. They are left to lowland peoples or low-class ethnic groups [563] like the Woyto, who hunt the hippopotamus ("gummarēy") along the gorges of the Blue Nile (and formerly also on Lake Tana).

Hunting, in the mind of the Amhara, is connected with such low-elevation jungle areas as Wolkait, on the northwestern escarpment, where the ecology differs considerable from the highland. Here are thick forest stands, many wild fruits (such as the wild orange), much wild coffee. Cotton is one of the few crops grown there.

Until the reign of the present Emperor, decorations were given to heroes who had killed big game. In fact, up to the end of the 19th century one of the flattering terms of address to the king was "zehon", elephant, considered the king of beasts. (This has since been replaced by the address "Germawi hoy", "Oh Majesty").

224 136 Other game hunted in jungle-forest areas such as Wolkait include:

Greater Kudu ("agazän"), one of the largest antelopes in existence, described by Amharas as having the size and shape of an ox. European hunters have measured it as 60" at shoulder height.

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Northeastern Buffalo ("gosha"), fairly small in size, in wet lowlands.

Hartebeest ("tora"), a tall, slimmer antelope with inward-turned horns which the Amhara describes as being big as a zebra, dangerous, but becoming rare.

Wildcats ("demmat"), including the serval cat ("dēro"), hunted for their skins.

Civet cat ("terīn"), of the mongoose family, trapped for its musk gland.

Leopard ("nābber"), whose beautifully spotted skin is an export item.

Colobus monkey ("gurēza"), now one of the protected animals, but still hunted freely in remote jungle areas for its black-and-white coat, sold freely even in the streets of Addis Ababa. From its tail hair the famous "chera" flyswitch is made for the nobles who can afford to pay for it, instead of the horsetail substitute. This coat is also exported.

823 The jungle is regarded by the Amhara as the place of refuge of dangerous bandits, outcasts, and rebels against noble chieftains and kings; also, as the place inhabited by socially inferior ethnic groups; and, spiritually, as the [774] place inhabited by many powerful "zar" spirits (see Part VI, Section 2.). who "ride" leopards and lions and "milk" female elephants.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5
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practice a Mosaic form of Judaism.

4. Occupational hunters: lowland border peoples; negroid ex-slaves; all non-Coptic.

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The occupational hunting tribes are considered the most primitive, as pre-agricultural and even pre-pastoral subsisters on the bush, jungle, river gorges and deserts. Among them are the Woyto, the hunters of the Hippopotamus, which is considered by the Coptic clergy especially unclean because of the similarity to the pig. Jungles like Wolkait, in northwest Begemdir, contain such despised and feared hunters, as does the eastern lowland desert of the Danakil (Afar).

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Considered on a somewhat higher level within these groups are the pastoral nomads like the Somali, some of the Borana, and other southern tribes who, when they are better known to settled neighbors, are equated with class 2. When less well known, they are classed not much above hunters, and it does not matter to the Amhara that the pastoral nomads in turn look down on settled peasants.

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The lowest on level four are the ex-slaves, who are referred to as Shancalla if they look negroid, or the more general "barya", i.e. slave (name of a Sudanese border tribe). Only a very poor person, possibly an outcast, cripple, etc., of the two upper classes would consider marrying a Shanqalla. Nevertheless, because of the aforementioned concubinage with female slaves, there are Shanqalla outcrops among even the Amhara of Gondar. An offspring of such a union not infrequently does marry a Shanqalla woman, after converting her to Coptic Christianity. This is pos-

245 Planting of fruit is done largely in the qolla, outside Amhara areas: bananas, the large citrus("trengo"), mango, guava ("zäytun"), custard apple ("gishta") shaped like an artichoke. Cactus fruit grow wild up to the woyna dega.

226 [554] Fishing, interestingly enough, is not despised, because it is not considered a full-time occupation. It is limited largely to the 3-month rainy season, when rivers are full and fish is plentiful. The fisherman has another source of livelihood the rest of the year, and fishes to sell at the next market or merely to increase the family food supply.

Fishing is also much easier in the rainy season because the water is muddy and the fish cannot see the fisherman--who is clearly visible in the calm, clear waterholes during the dry season. A day's catch of 30 to 50 fish in the rainy season is not rare; in the dry season the fisherman may well come home empty handed. Therefore, in the dry season the occasional fisherman who does try, often uses fish intoxicants called "yasa maskäriya", especially the dried and ground "berberra" seed (Berebera ferruginea). Fishnets, "mäyaza", are used primarily. There is no concept of fishing for sport.

● 224 In hunting, when it is not done for major livelihood, the concept of sport does exist in Amhara tradition. The pride of the hunter who has overcome a major, dangerous game, has already been mentioned. The young sons of nobles were expected to prove their mettle against this big game, if no war-raid was currently available. Before

224 Before
535 going on an elephant hunt, for example, he performed the "boasting dance", "fukkara", largely with his shoulders and upper arms, predicting his feats; and his retainers honored him by declaring their confidence in his prowess, jumping up and down in the "hota" dance, chanting repeatedly:

[539] "Elephant-killer, (to) your home-
elephant-killer, take him home".
(Hunter:) Elephant-killer (I am), to home (I'll take him)."
(Retainers:)" When it (the elephant) will be moving,
he will kill it!"

224 The elephant-killer, considered braver than the lion-
554 killer, was called "addo" and given a special decoration to wear on forehead and upper arm by the king or feudal lord. A warrior who had killed a human enemy was called "geday" (lit. killer) and held prestige equal to the elephant-killer. Now that rifles are used in place of spears, such heroes have become more common and decorations among the Amhara have fallen into disuse.

224 Besides the big-game, edible jungle animals mentioned
825 before under "fauna", there are numerous wild game, mainly gazelles and partridges, hunted near human habitations to increase the food supply and for occasional sport:

Ethiopian duiker - "midaqwa", very common near habitations on the woyna dega, an antelope the size of a small goat, often approaching hamlets at dusk. It is considered the "cattle" of the zar spirits, and sacrifice to them is thus called "midaqwa".

[782]

Bushbuck - "demula", similar but medium-sized ante-

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825 lope, reddish, more shy.

Ethiopian klipspringer - "sässo", a little mountain antelope resembling the European chamois, with soft, smooth skin. The Amhara is amused by the curious hacit of this sociable animal of mixing with herds of tame goats and grazing in their midst, when goats are taken to upper hillsides for pasturage in the rainy season.

[233]

Waterbuck - "defassa", large antelope resembling European red deer in build. Brown color; hers of 5 to 10 usually contain only one old bull. Common near Lake Tana.

Reedbuck - "behor", golden-colored antelope, in bush near water. They like to inhabit a specific small territory, in herds of 5 to 10.

Ethiopian ibex - "walya", very wild, red-speckled, on the dega steep mountains of Semyen subprovince. Not common elsewhere.

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223 Francolins - "qoq" is the generic name for this family of common wild fowl of the woyna dega; resemble the partridge. Boys are adept at hunting them with slingshot and pebble and run after them until both are exhausted.

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Guinea fowl - "zegra" or "jegra", black, lean, fast runner, found near water.

Partridge - "sorän", common on woyna dega. Wild

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

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692 ment, who approves appointment to Sharia and Qadi positions.

5. Structure and Function of the Coptic Church among the Amhara.

795 The importance of the Coptic Church of Abyssinia on the life of every Amhara, of all classes, rural or urban, can hardly be exaggerated. To the Amhara, "Amhara" is synonymous with Abyssinian Christian; and the
[198] liturgical language used in the church, "Geez", with "language of the free". The term used for their religion is "täwahedo", often shortened to "towado", meaning "orthodox".

To the Amhara, his church is so closely connected with his attitudes to his country, his nation, his ethnocentrism, that the severance of ties with the mother Coptic Church of Alexandria, in 1948, passed almost
[779] unnoticed. Only church scholars are aware that, as part of the larger Coptic church, the break with the Western church occurred after the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D., ostensibly because the Copts insisted on complete fusion of the person of Christ, refusing to accept the "union, but not fusion of Deity and human spirit" of the non-Monophysite faith in the formula he pronounces when
[788] slaughtering a sheep or ox: "In the name of the father,
• [224] the son, and the holy ghost, one divinity" The pious hunter will hasten to the wounded gazelle to pronounce the formula before the animal expires, then finish it off by cutting its throat

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

804 night. And if it is distant they say, you will arrive in a *sambete*, that is a week, and so they define it according to the distances. When I said that from Barua to Barra there
484 were from three and a half up to four leagues, that was according to our opinion, and it would not be more. We afterwards travelled there many times, and we started from one town and dined at the other, and did our business and returned to the town we had started from by daylight. The people of the country reckon this as a day's journey, because they travel very slowly. Between these two towns
[241] there is very remarkable country, tilled fields of wheat, barley, millet, pulse, lentils, and all other sorts of vegetables which the country possesses unknown to us. From the
[361] road from one place to the other more than fifty towns are to be seen: I say large towns and very good ones, all on
224 heights. In these plains and fields there are herds of wild cattle, forty or fifty in a herd. It is a chase that is very pleasant for the Portuguese, but the country people are able to do them little hurt, although they receive from them much injury to their crops.

CAP. XX.—*Of the town of Barua, and of the women and their traffic, and of the marriages which are made outside of the churches.*

621 This town of Barua in which we were staying, and where later we passed more time, may have three hundred hearths and more, a great part of them belonging to women, because this is like a court in many respects. One is that people of the Prester's court never go from here, and as many as come are not without wives. The other is because this is the residence and seat of the Barnagais, and there are continually in his house three hundred mounted men and upwards, and as many more who come every day for

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

goats, and sheep, and of much game of all sorts. In the river there is much fish, and many wild ducks of different kinds,[1] and on land much game of all kinds, such as wild cattle; in the plains hares in great quantity, so that every day we killed twenty or thirty of a morning, and that without dogs, but caught with nets. There are partridges of three kinds, which do not differ from ours, except in size and the colour of their legs. There are partridges like big capons of the same colour and fashion as ours, except that their beaks and feet are yellow. There are others the size of hens; these have red beaks and feet like ours. There are others the size of ours, not different in colour or in anything else, except that their beaks and feet are grey. To the taste all are very good partridges, as they are good in colour. They do not frighten them to the earth.[2] Wild hens cover the ground, quails are in infinite numbers, and so of all other birds that can be mentioned, such as parrots and other birds not known to us, great and small, and of many shapes and colours; birds of prey, such as royal eagles, falcons, hawks, sparrow hawks, blue herons, and river cranes, and all other sorts that can be mentioned. In the mountains are many hogs, stags, antelopes, gazelles, deer. It will be said, how is it that there is so much game on the land and fish in the river, when the country is so populous? I say that nobody hunts or fishes, nor have they engines nor devices, nor the will to do it; on this account the game is very easy to kill, because it is not pursued by the people. There are many wild beasts—lions, ounces, tigers, wolves, foxes, jackals, and other animals not known to us. I never heard that these wild beasts did any harm, although the people are in great fear of them; only in one place which is called Camarua, and which is about half a league from

[1] *Adens* and *marrecas*.

[2] *No las assombram a terra*: perhaps this means with a paper kite. This passage is omitted in Selve's translation.